

PEACE NEWS

No. 405 March 17, 1944 2d.

WE NEED A CREATIVE Revolution

WILFRED WELLOCK
on the "Rehabilitation of Man"

THE restoration of the spiritual heritage lost during the rise and growth of the capitalist industrial system, and the rehabilitation of man into a fully integrated human person, is the supreme need and the first duty of this age.

Any world worth living in, or that can endure, depends upon the fulfilment of that task.

This lost spiritual heritage included vital rights and values such as the opportunity to make and do a wide variety of things; the satisfaction of mind and soul and the respect of neighbours to be derived therefrom; personal and social responsibility; the neighbourliness of an organic community; a vital, meaningful religion, and a high degree of economic security.

Three main ways to the desired goal have been suggested: socialism, a vital religion, and a change of values issuing in a complete re-organization of industrial methods and practices.

Changing the Motive

Let us consider the way of socialism.

The socialist contends that what is wrong with modern industrialism is not its use of machinery, but the profit motive which directs and controls it. Change the motive, replace the desire for profit and power by the desire to render service, in itself a mass-spiritual revolution, and a new spirit will emerge, also a new social outlook, whence the meaning and significance of every industrial process will be transformed!

The socialist, in fact, accepts the entire process of mass-production and would develop it to the utmost extent. His theory is that the machine should be allowed to do everything it will, in order that the workers may enjoy the maximum of comfort and leisure.

Very well. Now let us look at his world, also his human product and the life he is to lead.

The system of mass-production has by no means reached its zenith. The war has developed it enormously. Since mass-production led to mass-slaughter, war had naturally to demand the maximum industrial speed-up. The new technique will be applied all round when the fighting

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

WAY TO THE BETTER

CONTRIBUTIONS to the Peace News Fund for this fortnight are enriched by the gift of the prize won at a local Eisteddfod by a Welsh poet for a pacifist poem, which the adjudicator crowned although he thought it "depressing and cynical." The epithets are not unfamiliar in this office as applied to Peace News, to which my constant reply is in Thomas Hardy's words, which have often consoled me:

If way to the better there be,
It exacts a full sight of the worst.
I believe there is a way to the better. I should not be doing this job if I did not. But I am sure it is not an easy way. Indeed, we have ourselves to build the very road along which we shall advance.

Contributions since Mar. 3: £32 8s. 6d.
Total to date: £5,242 8s. 10d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 8 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Struggle for Power Strangles Ideals

ONE cannot make a logical pattern of the steady descent of morality: but there is a palpable harmony in deterioration. The demand of USA upon Eire that it should exile the German and Japanese ambassadors, and the death-sentence on Pucheu have something in common.

Perhaps it is expressed in Pucheu's words when the sentence was communicated to him: "C'est fini, la comédie!" "The farce is over." The farce of morality, the farce of justice, is over.

But the end of the farce is only the beginning of greater misery. Pucheu's sentence, The Times admits (Mar. 13), "has made more consciences uneasy than it has satisfied." Man cannot live without morality. He sickens and dies.

Fatal to Democracy

THIS war, professedly fought for justice against power, emerges more and more nakedly as a holocaust of justice for power. And that is fatal to the very idea of democracy. The morality of democracy—that without which it cannot live—is justice.

People know it, however dimly, in their souls. The void they feel expresses itself in a universal cynicism: such as is expressed in the view "very widely" held among the striking S. Wales miners: "the Government is trying to get out of the promises Churchill made at Teheran. It is trying to sabotage the Second Front and put the blame on us." (Daily Mail, Mar. 13.)

Why not? In this world anything is possible. But again you cannot live, and remain human, in a world where anything is possible.

Did Churchill Object?

APROPOS, Vera Brittain in her "Letter to Peace Lovers" (Mar. 9) quotes a letter from "an eminent American correspondent":

"It is an open secret in Washington that there were sharp passages at arms between the Prime Minister (i.e. Churchill) and Stalin. I greatly honour the former for his stand against the Second Front. . . . This venture may cost us as many as 500,000 casualties which Mr. Roosevelt is willing to risk on the theory that it will shorten the war."

The plain implication of that is that Churchill has been opposed to the Second Front, and that he has been over-ruled by Roosevelt and Stalin. What truth is in it readers must judge for themselves. But the USA-Soviet combination makes a pattern in power-politics—in particular for the Pacific war.

Glaring Contrast

FOLLOWING on the apparent moderation of the peace-terms offered to Finland, the Russians have sprung yet another surprise upon the world by not peremptorily rejecting the Finnish proposal that the terms themselves should be the subject of further negotiation.

Moreover, Pravda, in an article addressed to the Finns, has underlined the difference between the moderation of the terms offered the Finns and the "unconditional surrender" demanded of the Italians by Britain.

Finland is an enemy, Poland an ally. It is on the ally that Russia seeks to impose "unconditional surrender." No changes are demanded in the Finnish Government: the Polish Government has to be reconstituted. The contrast is glaring, and fantastic.

The Economist (Mar. 11), which gives due emphasis to the contrast, explains it by military necessity. The Russians have to occupy Poland, and "are entitled to insist on full military and political security behind their fighting lines in Poland, a security for which the Polish Government, as at present constituted, gives no guarantee." What is the precise difference between the Russian demands on

Poland and the demands made on Czecho-Slovakia by Germany in 1939? Except that Poland is an ally.

Russian Pendulum

IT is a horrible tangle: and the Poles have every excuse for feeling that they have been intolerably let down. I was impressed lately by a Polish private soldier saying to me that if the Poles are compelled to choose between Russia and Germany, they must prefer Germany. Though he based this choice on an abhorrence of Russian Communism, I felt that he was expressing a profound and age-old cultural antagonism.

Mr. Tudor Rose has an interesting article on this in The New English Weekly (Mar. 9), "The Byzantine Frontier." After a brief interval of internationalism, he says, "The Russian revolution has returned to the Byzantine tradition of cultural and economic coherence within a frontier. Though modern Russians may not know it, few things are more characteristically Byzantine than a planned economy and a monopoly of foreign trade."

The opposition between the Byzantine and the Latin culture is, he thinks, insuperable. In these days of the mechanized mass-society and post-Marxist philosophies it is hard to admit the possibility that cultural traditions may be more decisive than economic "necessities." Let us hope it is true.

Observer's Commentary

"Cultural," be it noted, is not the same as religious. Orthodox Christianity and Latin Christianity are both Christianity. The cult is shaped by the culture, rather than the culture by the cult.

Empires and Peace

ANYHOW, nowadays, it is difficult to talk commonsense about politics, because the necessary words are tainted or tabu. To say that Russia is reviving Byzantine imperialism in a new form outrages the Left, for whom imperialism is anathema. It is, therefore, an insult to Russia.

The historical fact is that the Byzantine Empire was a pretty good show. From the standpoint of history it would be quite as true to say that imperialism means peace as that imperialism means war.

Arnold Toynbee, in his Study of History, puts up a good case for believing that Hildebrand's conception of Western Christendom was superior to either the Roman or the Byzantine empires. But Hildebrand's Christendom did not last: it was hardly more than a germ or a dream. The Byzantine empire lasted a thousand years. It must be reckoned as by far the most enduring political achievement of Western civilization to date.

What of the West?

THESE considerations establish some sort of perspective. Britain is apparently determined, at all costs, to destroy the German attempt at (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

"CALL A HALT"

Women Appeal to the Premier

From an appeal sent to the Prime Minister and other members of the Government by the British Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the text of which has just been issued:

WE believe that the time has come to consider the best way to call a halt to the widespread and indiscriminate destruction now going on in all parts of the world; to the ravages aggravated by modern science; to the disastrous economic consequences reacting throughout the world; to the appalling loss of human life, particularly of youth; to the destruction of so much that humanity through the centuries has laboured to build up; to the blunting of spiritual perceptions.

We believe that the mass of people in each of the countries now at war are convinced that they are fighting not as aggressors, but in self-defence and for their own national existence. Such a belief provides a basis upon which a peace might be explored.

We therefore again appeal to H.M. Government to secure the publication by the United Nations of such peace terms as will be the preliminary step towards the cessation of hostilities—a cessation based not on the barren formula of unconditional surrender, but on the principles of justice enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

(The American section of the WIL recently urged Mr. Roosevelt to postpone the plan of invasion until every possible appeal for an armistice had been made to the German people over the heads of the German Government.)

Many Support the Bishop

BOMBING PROTEST

THE Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, the pacifist Rector of St. Michael's Church, Lewes, who collected signatures to a petition supporting the Bishop of Chichester's protest against the policy of area-bombing, is receiving many letters of support.

"Up to this morning I have had 109," he told Peace News on Friday, "and they are still coming by every post. Sixty-four of them are in support of the Bishop. In some cases three or four people have signed the same letter."

The other letters, expressing opposition, he described as "almost all anonymous and quite incredibly abusive."

Many of the letters of support came from people who had been through heavy raids on London, while those expressing opposition came from people who had not themselves endured air raids.

Because of the attitude taken by the Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, St. Michael's Church was not used for the Sussex Assize Service last Thursday, although it has been held there since 1903. It was held instead at St. Anne's. Mr. Rawlings told Peace News that for some time he had wanted the service transferred elsewhere.

THOSE "NEUTRAL SOURCES" AGAIN

TURNING THE TABLES ON "PRAVDA"

"RUMOURS FROM CAIRO"

"According to trustworthy Greek and Yugoslav sources, two British leading personalities recently had a secret meeting with Ribbentrop in a coastal town in the Iberian Peninsula. The purpose of the meeting was to elucidate the terms of a separate peace with Germany."

"It is believed that the discussions did not remain without results."

—How Pravda printed a dispatch from its Cairo correspondent, dated Jan. 12 (according to Daily Telegraph, Jan. 18).

"PRAYDA ON A TURKISH INVENTION"

"A sharp attack on the Turkish newspaper Tanin, which it said had printed a story that Russia and Germany were negotiating a peace settlement, appears in Pravda today." (Mar. 6.)

"Saying that the story appeared on Feb. 25, and was attributed to what were described as reliable neutral sources, Pravda adds: 'The newspaper has invented an idiotic fable of a type which only recently the paper itself said helped Germany's schemes. Tanin used to demand that such rumours be denied.'"

"Let it deny the same, or reveal their 'neutral sources.' Their sources are only in the editor's office. They are hopeless sources of political shamelessness and dirty intrigues."

—News Chronicle, Mar. 7.

NOTE: "Pravda," in Russian, means "truth."

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

AN "INFANTILE DISEASE"

THE correspondence evoked by our recent leader on "Pacifists and the Land" has proved that it was needed. We have not printed the letters of those correspondents who rushed, in defiance of the plain sense of our article, to the conclusion that it was opposed to the "nationalization of the land." It asked pacifists who advocated land-nationalization, specifically as a pacifist agricultural policy, first to consider and then to say plainly what they meant by it. It said:

"For pacifists to advocate land-nationalization without saying precisely what they mean in terms of the actual use and management of the land and the status of the farmer discredits the quality of pacifist thought."

To interpret that into "The Editor of Peace News is opposed to the nationalization of the land" discredits the quality of pacifist thinking even more. Accordingly, not to uncover our own nakedness, we have dropped the letters composed on this line into the waste-paper basket. And we say again: nationalization of the land is not an agricultural policy at all. All kinds of totally different agricultural policies can be based upon that foundation—and even an agricultural policy almost indistinguishable from that which the nation is actually pursuing at this moment. Almost indistinguishable, but not quite: for one minor difference, of some consequence to pacifists, would have appeared if the land had actually been nationalized in September, 1939. Pacifist agricultural groups would have found it impossible to get land. Can one conceive the State being prepared even to consider allowing a group of COs with agricultural exemption and no agricultural experience to rent one of its farms?

This is a simple, practical, and relevant instance of the contradiction in so much pacifist political thinking. It tends to adopt the policy of State-socialism from the Left without pausing to consider whether under State-socialism there would be any room for pacifists. The evidence of the USSR is that there would be none. It is really not good enough after more than four years of war that pacifists should combine advocacy of State-socialism with an unconscious assumption that they, as pacifists, would still be allowed to go their own way.

Politically, pacifism is a form of extreme liberal individualism. Unless it is to become intellectually contemptible, it really must think twice before trying to combine this with its opposite, which is State-socialism. Those two things cannot be combined except at the price of a revolutionary change in both. And a revolutionary change means that both of them cease to be what they were. Liberal individualism must become a different thing: and so must State-socialism. To profess them together is simply to talk nonsense. Let us call it, following Lenin: "the infantile disease of pacifism."

By the same token, if pacifists want an agricultural policy of their own, the best way to get one with some substance in it is to pool the thinking of pacifists who are actually engaged in agriculture. Ask them if they would like to have the outside control over their farming operations still further tightened. It is no use talking to them as though nationalization of the land were a panacea. It does not begin to offer an answer to their questions. They will want to know what kind of control it will involve: what kind of agricultural policy will be based upon it, how far they will be free to experiment. And all these concerns, which apparently never trouble the heads of those who imagine that land-nationalization is, in itself, an agricultural policy, are absolutely vital to the men who are engaged in the actual job. It is devoutly to be hoped that pacifists in conference do not talk as vaguely about other fundamental matters as the pacifist-agriculturalist knows they do about agriculture.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised.

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CRUSADER'S DOUBTS

NOTHING annoys a crusader more than to discover, in the middle of a campaign, that he is fighting for the wrong cause.

I have in mind the case of an ancestor of mine, who, setting out for the Third Crusade, fell in with the wrong caravan, and instead of finding himself in Palestine, helping to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel, found himself in Tartary, helping to restore the throne of Astrachan to Abdul the Bulbul—an issue which, as he said at the time, "Leaveth me cold."

It is not unreasonable, I think, to draw a parallel between this incident and the situation in which many of us find ourselves at the present time.

For the suspicion has dawned upon me, too, that I have got into the wrong war. For four years I have fought and died and stood in queues in order, so I understand, to make future war impossible. At the end of this period I now find myself facing this headline: "AERIAL WARFARE HAS COME TO STAY."

This alternative version of the future was announced recently by Mr. Roy Chadwick, designer of the Lancaster bomber, in a lecture on post-war civil aviation, which, according to press reports, "he concluded with an ominous warning about the next war."

Weeks have passed since this alternative to our original war aim was made public, yet no disclaimer has issued from official quarters. No word of Mr. Chadwick's arrest has reached me. He still walks free, officially uncontradicted.

ARE we to understand that this view of the future is official? Is the Warless World to be

dropped from the list of war aims?

In the interests of national morale, it is most important that this question be answered. One cannot maintain one's fighting spirit if one is liable to be called upon, at a moment's notice, to transfer one's allegiance from a Righteous Cause to its exact opposite.

One cannot, as is one's custom, rush into the fray shouting "God and the Right!" if, five minutes before the battle, one receives official notification to the effect that what was Right yesterday is Wrong today.

And if, having pinned a blue-print of the New Jerusalem to my standard, I am told that the site is to be given over to the erection of bomber factories, the Government

by "OWGLASS"

cannot blame me if my sword falls from my hand.

The time has therefore come to demand a plain answer: Are we fighting for abiding peace, or for permanent aerial warfare?

None knows better than I, President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Politicians, that no man of sympathetic impulses would ask a government to define exactly what it is aiming at.

But between war that has been finally abolished, and war that has come to stay, there is a distinction which even a Coalition Government should be able to grasp, and upon which it should be able to pronounce a decision without violating the Party Truce.

And unless I receive definite assurance upon this issue, I warn the Government that I shall lay down my arms. That is my ultimatum. The next word is with them.

LETTERS

A Soldier's View of His Duty

SINCE you published a letter from myself to the Scotsman as your leading article, I have received many letters from your readers inquiring why I am not a pacifist. May I briefly make my position clear?

I am not a pacifist, because I have always felt very strongly that a citizen—in spite of his private opinions—must ultimately render unto Caesar if the State insists. I have, in my more optimistic moments, pictured myself as a Prime Minister of the future ordering my countrymen not to go to war. "How," I ask myself, "could I demand obedience, if I have refused obedience myself?"

That reason, whatever illogicality it may possess, is why I am a soldier. I know of course that martyrdom—which my philosophy rejects—inspires the perfect pacifist. To those people, I can only offer my admiration, envy and respect.

May I add that, although for the reason given above I disagree with your philosophy, as every day passes I grow more in sympathy with your policy. The recent Debate in the House and the statements made by the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary show beyond all doubt that our government is now fighting a war based on no moral issue, but only on power-politics—and one-sided power-politics at that. They evidently do not realize that if power-politics is to be played, all comers must be welcomed to the game—not just one's allies or one's friends. Justice, like peace, is indivisible.

Things being as they are, I am considering the necessity of resigning my commission in view of the fact that I cannot honestly order my fellow-men to battle in a war without a moral purpose. As a private soldier, I shall still be Caesar's slave.

(Capt.) WILLIAM DOUGLAS HOME
Travellers' Club, London, S.W.1.

Full Employment

The article dealing with unemployment problems in your issue of Mar. 3 omits all reference to the most important cause of unemployment—the labour-destroying effect of

machinery and of the harnessing of nature-power to do work formerly requiring the energy of human muscles.

This factor, in a highly-mechanized, thickly-populated country of limited area and resources, like our own, makes the permanent provision of paid work for everyone an unattainable objective in peace-time, whatever our socialists or idealists may say or think.

Is it not incorrect to say that Lord Portsmouth advocates the nationalization of agricultural land? The impression I get from reading his books is that, while he certainly recommends drastic action against the incompetent land-owner and expects a very high standard of stewardship in the management of the land, nationalization is the one thing he does not want.

BEDFORD

Note: Lord Portsmouth advocates the resumption by the King of his ownership of the land as under the feudal system. It is (I admit) strictly inaccurate to describe this as "nationalization," since the political theory is utterly different from that of socialism. But since "nationalization" in this country would be, formally at least, a restoration of all property in land to the Crown, it is difficult to uphold the distinction.—Ed., P.N.)

Lesson of Kirkcaldy

It is certainly disquieting for Scots readers of Peace News to learn of the reaction of the pacifist candidate at Kirkcaldy to Scottish Nationalism. . . . But it is evident that Mr. H. H. H. is not only out of touch with Scottish sentiment but also with current pacifist writing.

The Editor in his commendation of Welsh nationalist publications, and more particularly Wilfred Wellock in his pamphlet "A Mechanistic or a Human Society?" have emphasized the importance of local autonomy for the regional cultures.

May I express the hope that any future pacifist candidate for a Scottish seat will show as much of that quality of tolerance for native sentiment that he desires to be shown towards German humanity.

KENNETH J. REID

274 Croftpark Ave., Glasgow, S.4.

Donald Port's article on the Kirkcaldy by-election upheld my previously held conviction that to put up pacifist candidates in war-time is futile.

Surely the peace-war issue is settled—for the duration anyway! The correct pacifist "line" is to support the most progressive war supporter and I suggest the best party in this category is Common Wealth.

Let us be realistic and admit the people do want pro-war candidates. That is why Common Wealth has done so much better than the ILP, the programmes of the two being substantially the same except for their attitudes to the war.

"A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," and a genuine socialist pro-war candidate with a fair chance of success is more than worth a pacifist socialist candidate with little or no chance.

D. TAYLOR

81 Valence Circus, Dagenham.

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

WHAT is the cause of this growing public suspicion that war is to be a permanent institution?

It may be due to a lack of confidence in the methods proposed for keeping the peace.

The public may be beginning to suspect that the only result of the proposal to maintain a gigantic standing army will be to remind would-be aggressors that God is on the side of the big battalions, and to confirm the Nazis in their belief that Might is Right.

The lesson was well rammed home by a recent session of the BBC Brains Trust, when a question was asked as to how one should reason with a Nazi as to convince him of his errors. Two well-known dispensers of wisdom replied to the effect that you can't reason with such people; that the only argument they understand is force, and the only way to teach them is to show that you are the stronger.

In other words, the only way to educate the Nazis out of their belief that brute force is greater than reason, is to show that you quite agree with them.

So it may be gradually dawning upon the public that, in view of the world-wide and unanimous faith in brute force, they would be unwise to expect its immediate abolition.

Words of Peace—64

The True Patriot

THE true patriot is never content with things as they are. He is not blind to his country's defects and wrong-doing, but seeks to replace them by right. In Mazzini's words, "The honour of a country depends much more on removing its faults than on boasting of its qualities." The true patriot will do this, moreover, when public opinion is dead against him. He is not forgetful of what his country has given to the world, but desires it to give increasingly of its best. For humanity is greater than any particular part of it, and every nation has something to contribute to the progress of mankind. . . . The best characteristics of all nations are needed in building up the Kingdom of God.

NAOMI MARY GILLMAN

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THEY KEEP YOUR PLEDGE

THE chief function of Signatories Department is to keep an accurate file of PPU members and to see that all "live" members are in touch with a group or contact member. Both of these functions are only partially achieved.

The membership file is divided into three sections: the General File containing 103,519 signatory cards, Headquarters File containing the cards of 1,780 members not wishing to be in touch with a group, and the Suspense File which contains the cards of about 30,000 members with whom we have lost touch.

Every new pledge card is filed, and the member is put in touch with the nearest group or contact member. In country districts the member may be as much as twenty miles from the nearest contact, but we aim to leave no one in isolation.

Dealing with changes of address is almost a full-time job for one person. Each change involves a notice of departure and arrival to the respective secretaries, and a letter to the member giving the nearest group or contact member. Unfortunately many members fail to notify their change of address, and their cards either remain inaccurate in the General File, or are removed to the Suspense File. Month by month a small number of cards is traced and returned to the General File. Members are frequently surprised that it is impossible to trace a signatory by name only. This is because the General File is in geographical order for the benefit of groups. It is always necessary, therefore, when notifying a change of address, to give the previous address for reference.

The General File does not at present give an accurate record of the live membership, and during the past two years an effort has been made to check the file. With the help of a voluntary worker a check was made on the 4,000 members who voted in the 1943 National Council Elections. It revealed that about 800 members were not living at the address at which their pledge cards were filed.

For the main work of checking, however, we need the help of groups and contact members. Many groups have already undertaken to check the signatories in their district, and lists have been supplied. When the completed check is returned, the cards of sound members are stamped and returned to the file. Inquiry letters are sent to those whom the group was unable to contact, and doubtful letters to those who appear to be no longer sympathetic. A month is allowed for reply, after which, if no reply is received, the cards of the former are filed in the Suspense File, the cards of the latter are withdrawn. The group check is not only of great help to us, but it frequently provides new contacts for the group. Many districts still remain to be checked. Can we enlist the help of more groups?

The department is also responsible for maintaining the group letter stencil file, and the group secretaries file. From being merely a record of officers, the latter has become a record of the history of the group, all the information obtained through the annual census being recorded.

LILLA TANSLEY

Many Five-Year Sentences on American C.O.s

MORE than a quarter of the conscientious objectors sent to prison in the United States during October and November last year received five-year sentences.

An analysis of figures just received from the War Resisters' League, New York, shows that out of a total of 435 sentences on COs in those two months.

58 were from 6 to 18 months;
85 " " 2 " 2 1/2 years;
114 " " 3 " 3 1/2 " "
37 " " 4 " 4 1/2 " "
141 " for 5 years.

Also remarkable was the high proportion of Jehovah's Witnesses—325, or about three-quarters of the total; in 103 of the remaining cases the religious affiliation of the objectors was not stated, and in seven cases it was classified as "miscellaneous."

In an editorial comparing the numbers of COs in the last war and in this, the Des Moines (Iowa) Register attributed the increase this time to "the extraordinarily popular revolution against war which followed the last one."

"PARATROOP" C.O.s

FIFTY men—many of them conscientious objectors—who were originally attached to the Non-Combatant Corps are now serving as paratroopers with airborne troops. They are unarmed and their duties include stretcher-bearing and the general dressing and care of the wounded.

A report in Reynolds News recently quoted one of their officers as saying: "I have found that the conscientious objectors are especially fearless. . . I would say without doubt that this is one of the most dangerous and difficult tasks of the war."

"HARD LABOUR" IN ERROR

Duncan L. Davies, of Ilfracombe, a CO who was required to serve hard labour when this, according to the Court Register, had not been imposed, has been allowed an extra four days' remission of sentence by the Home Office, following intervention by the Central Board for COs.

ANOTHER BOMBING PROTEST

Twenty-six well-known writers, artists, and musicians have issued a statement expressing "growing disquietude" at "the wanton destruction of civilian life and national culture by the Government's policy of aerial bombardment, which seems to us to imitate in an aggravated form the example of the Nazis." They "do not accept the denials issued by the Government of the charge that such bombardment is indiscriminate."

HENRY HILDITCH'S PAMPHLET

We regret that a typographical error appeared in the title of the pamphlet by Henry Hilditch advertised in our issue of Mar. 3. It should have read: *Economic Democracy or Dictatorship*.

'ONE MAN ALONE' IS NOT TO BLAME

"This war cannot be attributed to one man," said Mr. Rhys Davies, MP, in an address to a Methodist Literary Society at Denbigh recently. "I do not think much of Hitler, nor indeed of some people in our own government. They ought all to give up their offices in shame and allow the common people to arrange peace."

Mr. Davies expressed his amazement at the conceit of the British people who believed at all times that it was the people of other countries who were to be blamed for wars, and that it was we who were to restore order to Europe. We were able to hate people whom we had never seen. The only people we loved were ourselves.

"During my lifetime," he added, "I have seen our people going pagan. We are turning our backs on the Christian religion without finding another religion. Love is the basis of Christianity, and without this basis there is little hope for civilization."

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has removed from 17 Red Lion Sq., London, W.C.1, to new premises at 38 Gordon Sq., London, W.C.1, in which the International Fellowship and Embassies of Reconciliation—founded by the late George Lansbury—will also be housed.

What the Eighth Army Thinks of Religion

Under this title the BBC reproduced on Jan. 11 a most remarkably frank dispatch "recorded" by Denis Johnston, its correspondent on the Italian front—for pacifists a most significant dispatch. The following summary (not to be taken as verbatim) is made from careful notes by two listeners shortly after the broadcast.

The speaker said his own attitude to religion was neutral. He was asked to be quite frank and, as a war correspondent, he was going to set down the result of much experience of the ordinary soldier and airman attached to the Desert Flying Corps and to the Eighth Army, which was then commanded by Gen. Montgomery, an officer known to believe that Christian services and prayers improve the fighting morale of the soldiers.

First, most Chaplains ("Padres") are deservedly popular. The men respect them for their courage and endurance: they value them as a link with home and for providing various small services and opportunities for recreation. But when the Padre or anyone else talks about the importance of the Church and of religious worship, the average soldier, if he says anything at all, will give one or more of the following reasons for doubt and distrust:

1. The Padre, if he really were a Christian, would not come out here to encourage us to slaughter our fellow-men. (The official reply

to this is that the Church has always held it right to use force to combat evil.) Of course Hitler is to blame, but most Germans are decent fellows, like ourselves. These enemies of ours also have Padres telling them how noble they are to fight and die for their country, and besides they cannot do otherwise. We don't hate them, though of course we have to try and kill them, before they kill us. All this talk about the war being a "crusade" and that we are doing something "noble" is just nonsense. It is just a job to be done, a "colossal disease" to be stopped.

2. The Church, the soldier will also say, looks very like a big "racket" for getting comfortable jobs and good salaries for parsons and bishops. (Yet, in spite of his salary, an exception seems often to be made for the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who commands respect for his outspoken utterances.)

3. Church-going and praying in public is a woman's affair, "sissy" and sentimental. Most soldiers do not appear to like Church services (usually voluntary at the front) and attendance is small, unless exceptionally when non-attendance may mean making oneself conspicuous by falling out of the ranks. Mr. Johnston had never noticed a soldier praying, though no doubt many of them do pray sometimes. Nor do they talk about death and the after-life.

F.G.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

OASIS, Spring number has contributions by John Bate, John Bayliss, Conan Nicholas, Derek Stanford, Victor Turner and others, 9d. from W. H. Smith's bookstalls.

BERNARD SHAW writes on conscientious objection: another scoop for the live C.O.s' paper, 4d., or 4s. per year post paid. "The Tribunal," 119 Perry Vale, London, S.E.25.

MEETINGS, etc.

QUAKERS AND THE PENAL SYSTEM. Public lunch-hour address, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, by A. Joseph Brayshaw, Mar. 21 at 1.20 p.m.

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WILFRED WELLOCK visits Kingsley Hall, Parsloes Ave., Dagenham, Sat., Mar. 25. Afternoon session 3.30. "The Collapsing Civilization." Tea interval 5.30. Evening session 7. "The Bases of the Good Life." (Underground trains to Barking then buses 87 or 23 to Valence Ave.)

MEETING OF C.O. hospital workers Mar. 28, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. 6.30 p.m. Chairman, Penner Brockway; Walter Padley; and a speaker on "Nationalization of Hosnita's." Arranged by Pacifist Service Bureau.

MARK TAVENER on "Are Anarchists Pacifists?" 8 Endsleigh Gdns., 8.30 p.m., Sat., Mar. 18. Discussion conducted by Frederick Lohr.

LEEDS C.O. Advisory Committee Re-union Sat., Apr. 1, Priestley Hall City Sq. 5 p.m., pooled tea. 6 p.m. social. Speaker: Stuart Morris.

JOHN BARCLAY has following dates free for booking: Mar. 29-31 Apr. 12-16 and 27-29 (inclusive) Write direct to 64 Ellerton Rd., London, S.W.18.

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MORAL OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

European empire. In doing so it has opened the way for Russia to re-establish the Byzantine Empire. (Hence, really, the Turkish withdrawal: the new Byzantium means Constantinople.)

But what is to become of Western Europe? Nobody in authority seems to have the vestige of an idea, beyond "pounding it into pulp," to use the phrase of "Critic" in the New Statesman (Mar. 11).

Any constructive idea for the political organization of Western Europe means offering Germany decent terms—the possibility of co-operation. Since it is an article of the Churchillian faith—or a premiss of the demon of destruction that unconsciously possesses any man for whom war is the *raison d'être* of politics—that decent terms must not be offered to Germany, a constructive idea for Europe is ruled out.

Symptoms at Home

OF this moral paralysis (as I have said) the South Wales coal strike is a symptom. It is a sign of approaching anarchy. It would be quite impossible if the South Wales miners believed there was any valid moral purpose in the war. Probably they would not, even now, deny this with their lips. But their acts prove their radical disbelief.

And the cynicism of their actual behaviour is justified. The Government will give way, because it has no valid moral purpose: either in prosecuting the war, or in building a new society. (Uthwatt is now definitely rejected.) It has no positive idea to put before the imagination of the common man, in the light of which to demand his service and his self-subordination. It cannot lead, because it does not know where to go. It is a completely amorphous thing shaped by pressures which are, in truth, no more irresponsible than it is itself.

Britain's Duty

THERE is only one constructive idea for Europe, though it can be given all sorts of names: Federal Europe, United States of Europe, the

new Christendom, the Society of Nations. It is beyond imperialism. "It is the vogue, in the swing-back from abstract Wilsonian legalism, to discuss world order in terms of sheer power. But Europe cannot be the result of a mere formula of power-mathematics. If it is to live, it must have a spiritual content based on deep and common roots and re-embodying the European ideas which date from Roman and Christian medieval unity. Of this two-thousand-year-old Europe Britain has always been a part. She cannot cease to be a part of it, even if she tries. It cannot be a wise policy which divides in the flesh what is united in spirit." (Observer, Mar. 12.)

But to destroy a possible European empire and leave a chaos in its place—this is the very ecstasy of nihilism. No wonder that a moral paralysis is creeping over the souls of its unconscious exponents.

To achieve a unity which is beyond the unity of Empire is the mission of Europe. It is the duty of Britain to take the lead.

Shakespeare on Second Front

*Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:
The Genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council; and the state of man
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.*
—Julius Caesar II, i, 64.

"NO MILITARY OBJECTIVES"

Commenting on a report in The Times on Saturday, which quoted airliner passengers reaching Sweden from Germany as saying that a recent air attack "completely destroyed the Zehlendorf and Schlachtensee areas and badly damaged Wannsee," Gwen S. Catchpool and Corder Catchpool write:

"We lived for 5½ years, from 1931 to 1936, in Schlachtensee, the centre of the districts referred to, and maintained our contacts down to the outbreak of war. We think it ought to be known that throughout these three suburbs, comprising together a huge area to the southwest of the city, there were, so far as we are aware, no factories or other military objectives. The general type of residential development is similar to that of Golder's Green, but on a far more extensive scale."

SPEEDY "CAT-AND-MOUSE"

Mrs. Rita Conbeer was fined £5 (with a fortnight in which to pay) when she was prosecuted at the Newport, I.O.W., police court on Feb. 26 for failing to present herself for interview as directed under Defence Regulation 80b. She told the court, "I am not willing to do war work, neither can I do anything which would release another person and so force them to do work which I cannot conscientiously do." Her husband, Sydney George Conbeer, gave evidence on her behalf.

On Mar. 4—seven days before the date by which the fine should be paid—Mrs. Conbeer received another direction to attend for interview. In a statement to Peace News her husband said that since the Ministry of Labour was aware of his wife's views they could have assumed that she would ignore the second direction, and that "no sooner has she been punished once than the Ministry takes steps to secure further punishment for what is actually the same offence."

The CASE for NATIONALIZING the LAND

by H. N. HORNE

THE editorial in Peace News on Mar. 3, entitled "Pacifists and the Land" accused a certain group of pacifists of using ambiguous terms and of producing a recommendation without due thought. No doubt the group will be well able to defend themselves, but the accusation prompts some reflections. Here are the questions.

You appear to suggest that "nationalization" is a mere slogan with no thought behind it. But what are some of the things declared by farmers to be necessary for a prosperous agriculture? For several years before the war the demand was for special credits in order that farmers, including the owner-occupiers, might have adequate capital for their job. Now they ask in particular for a piped water supply in order to allow new methods of farming to be successfully employed. Those of us who live in the country know that farm buildings need repairing, that accommodation roads need repairing, that gates and fences need repairing. It is said that even more than higher wages the farm-worker needs a house with such ordinary amenities as a piped water supply, adequate sanitation and electric light.

In the traditional ordering of agriculture all such things were provided and maintained by the landlord. Even if one were to agree that the private land-owner of two generations ago

Would not fight for Britain

INDIAN COURT-MARTIALLED

By GEOFFREY PITTOCK-BUSS

THE room in which I waited at Canterbury to hear the court-martial of Suresh Vaidya, on Wednesday of last week, contained a large poster bearing the words, "Our Allies the Colonies." It was an ironic comment on the case, for Vaidya, a 33-year-old Indian journalist living in London, was charged with "when on active service disobeying a command given by his lawful officer."

Procedure was similar to that of an English police court and Vaidya, wearing a pair of corduroy trousers and a zip-on jacket, stood out in a sea of khaki.

His counsel, Mr. Stephen Murray, asked the court to rule that the case was outside its jurisdiction as Vaidya was only temporarily resident in the country and therefore not liable to be called up. This was over-ruled by the court.

VAIDYA'S CASE

A statement made by Vaidya was read, which said: "I am a national of India, born and brought up in Indian ways. I cannot be called British even if the law manages to be so imaginative." He accused the British Government of holding his country down by force and of instituting a reign of terror after the arrest of the Congress leaders in August, 1942.

Letters were read from Reginald Sorensen, M.P. Prof. N. Gangulee, and Fenner Brockway. Mr. Brockway pointed out that, although Vaidya's case had been turned down by the CO tribunals, it was clear that political objectors were entitled to exemption and he asked the court to give Vaidya a sentence which would enable him again to appear before an appeal tribunal.

When asked if he had anything to say, Vaidya replied: "I never expected to stand in the dock when I came to this country but it has fallen my lot to do so, simply because I feel that if I did not do it I would lose faith in myself. For the first time in the past two months I came into contact with the British Army. The treatment given to me by the officers and soldiers I, as a man, really appreciate very much, especially the kindness and understanding. I hope that the British Government will be just as kind and understanding so that the relationship between the countries shall not be so bitter."

The decision of the court-martial will be promulgated.

NEXT PEACE NEWS PAMPHLET

The setting-up of the Speakers' Conference to consider Parliamentary electoral reform, and the approach of the annual election of the PPU National Council—now conducted by the method of proportional representation—combine to give particular interest to the March Peace News pamphlet, to be published next week.

Under the title "The Poll and the People," John Eliot discusses the problems involved in trying to create an executive authority with a representative basis.

The pamphlet will cost 1d. (9d. per dozen). PN distributors should send amendments to standing orders to reach the PN Office not later than first post on Tuesday.

NORWAY'S CHILDREN FED BY SWEDEN

SWEDEN is at present providing 90,000 Norwegian children with one meal a day, according to a report recently published by the Board of the Swedish Norway Relief (Manchester Guardian, Mar. 8). Sums collected in Sweden for this and other relief work amount to 25,000,000 kronor (£1,470,000).

The child-feeding scheme alone costs over 1,000,000 kronor a month. The Norway Relief, together with the

As we went to press, the Archbishop of Canterbury was to raise in the House of Lords the question of food supplies for occupied Europe (with particular reference to Greece and Belgium). We hope to publish an analysis of the debate next week.

Swedish Red Cross, also maintains a hospital near Oslo and contributes to the support of a large number of "God-children," as they are called.

Supervision of the distribution of Swedish foodstuffs in Norway, to ensure gifts reaching the right persons, is exercised by Swedish citizens living in Norway. No case of misuse has been reported.

Consignments of food have also been sent outside this scheme—such as 9,000 tons of sugar last autumn, 90,000 Christmas parcels for children in December, and 950 tons of butter at present being distributed.

Included in an intensification of relief activity now planned will be the establishment of a feeding centre for about 15,000 old people in Oslo.

REHABILITATION OF MAN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

ceases. The assembly-line will appear in nearly every factory.

The outcome will be a much greater degree of uniformity in the things produced, but also in the people who produce them. "Ford" production is so costly, in initial outlay that it must needs turn out millions of identical commodities, no matter what they be. A very small staff produces the designs to be adopted and the tools these require.

Robot Workers

Under socialist "Fordism" it will be the same; neither the workers nor the public will have any control over production, there being no place for individual taste, skill, or craft. The workers may have better conditions and the investors smaller returns, although, if we are to judge from the high salaries now being paid to trade union and labour leaders, even those differences may not be considerable. These are worthy ends, but they will not solve the problem of the mass-man. Given a more monotonous environment and a much bigger percentage of robot workers, the rehabilitation of man would be a more urgent (and a more difficult) task than ever.

If we may assume that the supreme concern of a socialist State would be to create a virile nation of human persons (in fact, the evidence, both at home and abroad, suggests that it would prefer a nation of robots) the government would have no option but to use every means to induce the people to spend their leisure creatively.

The nauseating monotony of a mass-produced environment, including dress, utensils, furniture, houses, public buildings and even churches, and a mass-minded, servile people, would call for the creative use of leisure in order to enliven the environment with the distinctions of spiritual discernment and understanding. The need would not be for pen and paper artists, but for poems in stone, timber, metals, and paint in the midst of the streets, squares and market-places, while the construction of those poems would give character and dignity to human beings.

An Impossible Task?

It must be pointed out, however, that this would be a superhuman if not a quite impossible task for a socialist State to accomplish, for the reason that in a mass-production society work and play are antagonistic principles rather than complementary functions, which they would be in a rationally organized society. In the latter, the function of play is to inspire and prepare the worker for greater achievement, but in the former, it is to compensate him for the misery endured while at work.

Workers on the assembly-line will naturally and with very rare exceptions seek distraction in excitement rather than inspiration in creative pursuits. And that is true whether the work be done under capitalist, fascist or socialist auspices. Accordingly, for robots and for a socialist government, the creative use of leisure would be the line of greatest resistance.

If, nevertheless, the creative use of leisure were successfully adopted, what would it signify? Just this, that industrialism had travelled full circle, from creative to automatic production, then back to creative labour and the culture of the human person; but with this difference, that such labour would now be the function of leisure.

How strong, therefore, is the case for the creative revolution!

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